

Message Text

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S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 300671 TOSEC 320182

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: YOUR DECEMBER 12 MEETING
WITH COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL RAMPHAL

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFLE

1. YOU ARE MEETING WITH SONNY RAMPHAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH
SECRETARIAT IN LONDON AT 9:15 A.M. SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12.
ASSISTANT SECRETARY REINHARDT AND FRANK WISNER WILL BE
PRESENT TO ACCOMPANY YOU.

2. CHECKLIST.

A. GENEVA CONFERENCE: IN ADDITION TO MESSAGE FROM
OBASANJO WHICH RAMPHAL IS PERSONALLY TRANSMITTING TO YOU,
YOU MIGHT ASK RAMPHAL FOR HIS OWN OPINION OF THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE.

B. ATTITUDE OF FRONT LINE STATES: YOU MIGHT MENTION YOUR
MESSAGES TO FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND OUR CONCERN OVER
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UNREALISTIC PROPOSALS FOR AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA.

C. BRITISH ROLE: ASK RAMPHAL FOR HIS CURRENT UNDERSTANDING ABOUT BRITISH READINESS TO ACCEPT MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE TRANSITION.

D. COMMONWEALTH ROLE: YOU MIGHT ASK RAMPHAL IF HE HAS THOUGHT FURTHER ABOUT A POSSIBLE COMMONWEALTH ROLE.

3. SETTING.

A. OUR LAST CONVERSATION WITH RAMPHAL ON THIS SUBJECT OCCURRED DECEMBER 5 WHEN I MET WITH HIM IN LONDON (LONDON 19640). AT THAT TIME RAMPHAL SAW A CHANCE OF GREATER BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT BUT THOUGHT THAT CALLAGHAN WAS HOLDING BACK UNTIL A POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR SETTLEMENT EMERGED MORE CLEARLY. RAMPHAL ALSO THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT, AS PART OF A COMPROMISE, ON COMMONWEALTH ADVISORY GROUP OF 200 MILITARY OFFICERS AND CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATORS MIGHT BE SENT TO RHODESIA TO ASSIST IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSITION.

B. HOWEVER, ON THIS OCCASION RAMPHAL HAS BEEN ASKED BY NIGERIAN CHIEF OF STATE OBASANJO TO PASS A MESSAGE TO YOU. IN WISNER'S CONVERSATION WITH ANYAOKU DECEMBER 9 (GENEVA 9818), THE LATTER NOTED THAT THE BASIC MESSAGE IS THAT THE BRITISH SHOULD DEVISE A NEW PACKAGE INCLUDING BRITISH RESPONSIBILITIES, PUT IT FORWARD IN GENEVA FOR SYMPATHETIC REACTION FROM THE NATIONALISTS AND HAVE IT APPROVED BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. THE OBJECT WOULD BE TO ADJOURN THE CONFERENCE ON AN UPBAT NOTE PROVIDING THE BASIS FOR SUCCESSFUL RECONVENING AFTER CHRISTMAS.

4. ANALYSIS.

A. THE NIGERIANS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY ACTIVE DURING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. ANYAOKU, ALTHOUGH HE REPRESENTS THE COMMONWEALTH, REPORTS DAILY TO AND TAKES INSTRUCTIONS FROM NIGERIAN CHIEF OF STATE OBASANJO. THE ENCOURAGING THING ABOUT HIS CONVERSATION WITH WISNER IS THAT IT IS SECRET

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SOMEWHAT LESS DEMANDING THAN PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN GENEVA. AMONG OTHER THINGS ANYAOKU SAID THAT THE NATIONALISTS' DEMANDS FOR COMPLETE AND UNCONDITIONAL TRANSFER OF POWER SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TOO SERIOUSLY. HE ALSO ADDED THAT SOME KIND OF A TWO-TIER STRUCTURE MAY BE POSSIBLE.

B. RAMPHAL'S ROLE IN THIS EXERCISE IS NOT QUITE CLEAR

ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE WOULD LIKE MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY THE COMMONWEALTH, PARTIALLY BECAUSE THE COMMONWEALTH HAS BEEN SEIZED OF THIS QUESTION FOR YEARS AND PARTIALLY BECAUSE HE SEES A POSSIBLE BOOST TO HIS OWN FUTURE ASPIRATIONS.

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5. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS.

A. GENEVA CONFERENCE: THE CONFERENCE FACES ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS WHICH WILL PROVIDE THE BRITISH TIME TO PURSUE CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES AND PERHAPS PUT TOGETHER A SOLUTION WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYBODY.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE UNREALISTIC DEMANDS PUT FORWARD BY SOME NATIONALISTS. WE BELIEVE THAT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT IT IS NECESSARY TO SHARE POWER WITH THE EUROPEANS DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD EVEN THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE LARGELY AFRICAN.

--SMITH DOES HOLD POWER ON THE GROUND AND, IF HE CANNOT BE BROUGHT ALONG, A SOLUTION BY FORCE WHICH WE ALL SEEK TO AVOID IS THE ONLY WAY OUT.

--WE WOULD WELCOME BRITISH PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROVIDED ITS FORM AND NATURE CAN BE MADE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES.

--HOW DO YOU PRESENTLY ASSESS BRITISH WILLINGNESS TO TAKE A MORE ACTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN THE INTERIM GOVERN-
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MENT?

B. THE FRONT LINE STATES: YOU HAVE JUST HAD A FORCEFUL EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND NYERERE WHICH HOWEVER CONFIRMS OUR MUTUAL INTEREST IN ACHIEVING A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE HAVE NOT BEEN CONVINCED THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE EXERTED ENOUGH PRESSURE ON THE NATIONALISTS TO ACHIEVE THE COMPROMISE WHICH WE THINK IS NECESSARY.

--I WOULD WELCOME ANY REACTION YOU HAVE HAD FROM THE EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE SOME OF WHICH HAS APPEARED IN

THE PRESS.

--WHAT DO YOU SUGGEST SHOULD BE THE NEXT STEP WITH THE
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO HELP MOVE MATTERS OFF DEAD
CENTER?

C. COMMONWEALTH ROLE: RAMPHAL IS MOVING CAUTIOUSLY IN
TRYING TO DEFINE A COMMONWEALTH ROLE BUT DEFINITELY SEES

THIS AS A POSSIBILITY IN BOTH THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
AND THE ARMED FORCES.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--HOW WOULD YOU VIEW THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMONWEALTH
PERSONNEL SINCE THEY WOULD PRESUMABLY ONLY HAVE ADVISORY
FUNCTION?

--DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE NATIONALISTS AND THE FRONT LINE
STATES WOULD SEE THE INJECTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH AS A
BRIDGE TO SOLVE SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES LIKELY TO ARISE
BETWEEN THE AFRICANS AND THE EUROPEANS IN RHODESIA?

ROBINSON

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